

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,
UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 8. No. 3.—New Series.]

MARCH 1, 1860.

{ Price Fourpence Stamped
Three pence Unstamped

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Monthly Summary.....	49	Our Cotton Supply	62
Parliamentary Record	52	The Rev. J. Waddington and American Slavery	63
Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., at Bradford.....	56	Drowning of Eight hundred and fifty Coolies	65
Wendell Phillips on Dr. Cheever.....	58	An Appeal to the Coloured Race from Hayti.	66
Anti-Slavery Items	58	British Abolitionist Movement	67
Notice.....	59	Mr. A. Trollope on the West Indies.....	68
Struggle for the Speakership	59	Reviews.....	71
The Rev. Dr. Cheever's Church.....	60	Advertisements	72

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On the 27th of January last, Lord Brougham moved, in the House of Lords, for returns of the quantities of cotton imported from all countries for the years 1858, 1859, 1846, and 1815, before the repeal of the duty, distinguishing the countries from which imported, with the amount of the revenue levied on the same in the years 1815 and 1844. A brief conversation of much interest ensued, in which the Duke of Newcastle, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Wodehouse, and Earl Grey took part. It will be found in our Parliamentary record. The motion was agreed to.

On the 3rd ultimo, in the House of Commons, Mr. Stephen Cave asked Sir Charles Wood a question respecting a treaty in course of negotiation between the governments of Great Britain and France, to facilitate the exportation of Coolies from India to the French colonies, in consideration of the renunciation by France of the African free-labour emigration scheme. Sir C. Wood stated that the question was yet pending, but that should any arrangement of the nature referred to be concluded, care would be taken to protect the Coolies.

The Blue Books on the slave-trade, classes A. and B., comprising dates from the 1st of April 1858 to the 31st of March 1859, have been laid before Parliament. They were submitted just after the opening of the session, though they purport to have been "pre-

sented by command" during that of 1859. They are most imperfect, especially as regards Cuba, the annual report on the slave-trade to that island, to the 31st December 1858, not being included. There is only a general statement, occurring in one of the letters from the Commissary Judge at Havana, dated Feb. 26th, 1858, to the effect that "the detestable traffic is being carried on upon as extensive a scale as it ever was since the celebration of the treaty for its suppression." Similar statements, equally general, are to be found in other despatches of later dates, and this distressing fact is abundantly corroborated by the reports of the officials on the African coasts. It appears, too, that notwithstanding the promise of the French Emperor, that the exportation of African "free-labourers" should be given up, this new slave-trade continues unchecked, to the serious detriment of legitimate commerce, in all those parts where sales of men are made. In our next we purpose to re-print extracts from these papers, which will enable our readers to judge to what an extent the slave-trade is still prosecuted, in spite of treaties, cruisers, and other means employed for its suppression.

A Parliamentary paper entitled "West-India Islands," &c., Relief has just been issued, which shews that in promotion of immigration to Tobago, Trinidad, and British Guiana, the following sums have been advanced to those colonies from the Imperial Exchequer, and the following repayments made during the year ending 5th January 1860:

	Tobago.	Trinidad.	British Guiana.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Original advance.....	20,000 0 0	64,073 0 8	70,000 0 0
Repaid to 5th January 1859...	10,000 0 0	13,000 0 0	Nil.
Amount due on 5th Jan. 1859	10,000 0 0	51,073 0 8	70,000 0 0
Principal repaid during the year to 5th January 1860...	357 10 0	10,000 0 0	Nil.
Balance due on 5th Jan. 1860..	9,642 10 0	41,073 0 8	70,000 0 0
Interest paid during the year to 5th January 1860	292 10 0	1,842 18 4	2,800 0 0

On Thursday, the 9th ultimo, a public meeting was held at Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of the Bishop of London, to promote the *Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa*. The attendance was very large, and the platform was crowded with the highest dignitaries of the Church of England, and with gentlemen, clerical and lay, interested in the success of the mission. The movement originated from the Rev. Dr. Livingstone's visit to the two rival universities, and its object is "to raise the natives of Central Africa from the darkness of heathenism and barbarism, to the light of Christian and civilized life." It also contemplates the encouragement of native agriculture and commerce, and the extinction of the slave-trade by promoting the development of the indigenous resources of the country. The proposed mode of achieving these objects is by sending "out as soon as possible, a bishop, with at least six clergymen, a medical man, and a staff of agriculturists and mechanics, to settle in some part of the wide district, which Livingstone's journeys have shewn to be accessible."

This pioneering staff is to proceed as follows:

"1. As soon as they have acquired sufficient knowledge of the language, to teach the natives the principles of Christianity, to minister to them the reproofs and the consolations of the Gospel, and to lay the foundations of a church among them, in communion with the Church of England.

"2. To translate the Bible into their language, and print it by degrees as it is prepared; and generally to methodize the grammar, and prepare reading-books as they are wanted.

"3. To educate their mental faculties by teaching them reading, writing, and arithmetic, and proceeding by degrees to other branches of knowledge.

"4. To instruct them in the arts of civilized life, and to induce them to adopt civilized habits in respect of food, dress, building, &c.

"5. To encourage and assist them to improve in the cultivation of the soil, and in the production of cotton and other raw materials for exportation.

"6. To shew them the mutual benefits which are conferred on different parts of the world, by lawful commerce; as well as the sinfulness and disastrous consequences of a traffic in human beings."

To enable the Committee to accomplish their object, it is proposed to raise a sum of at least 20,000*l.*, and subscriptions to the amount of 2000*l.* per annum, for a period of five years. The Chairman of the London Committee is the Bishop of London, and of the general Committee, the Bishop of Oxford. The Hon. Secretaries are T. Parry Woodcock, Esq. M.A., 15, Ashley Place, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.; and the Rev. G. Hunt Smyttan, M.A., 14, Bentinck Street, Manchester Square, W. The Bankers are Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand, and Messrs. Hoare and Co., Fleet Street.

Mr. George Thompson has been lecturing on Slavery in the north of England, with a repetition of the success which attended his earlier efforts in furtherance of emancipation.

The *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Committee* have re-published in a cheap tract form, the correspondence between Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason of Virginia, on the one hand, and Mrs. Lydia Maria Child on the other, which was originally published at New York, by the *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

AFRICA.—The President of Liberia has recently delivered his annual message. In it he adverts to the increasing commerce of the Republic, and to the impetus which the foreign demand for African staples has imparted to agriculture. The complication arising out of the *Regina Caeli* case had not been adjusted with the French Government, but matters were progressing satisfactorily.

UNITED STATES.—The Act for giving the free negroes of Arkansas the alternative of migrating before the 1st of January 1860, or of becoming slaves, having come into operation, the great body of the free coloured people had migrated northwards. They had found a temporary home at Seymour, In-

diana, on the line of the Ohio and the Mississippi railroad.

Among the laws passed by the Legislature of Georgia is one which provides that free negroes wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral, or profligate course of life, are to be deemed and considered as vagrants, and may be indicted as such. In case of conviction, they are to be sold into Slavery for any given time, in the discretion of a Judge of the Superior Court, not exceeding two years for the first offence; but upon conviction of a second offence, *they must be sold into perpetual Slavery.*

In Florida, the Free-negro Bill has failed to become a law, for want of the Governor's signature.

William Shreve Bailey, the editor and proprietor of *The Free South*—an anti-slavery newspaper published at Newport, in Kentucky, and on whose behalf we have inserted in our columns an appeal from anti-slavery friends at Newcastle—states that he has lost upwards of three thousand dollars by damage done to his house and printing-stock by the mob which last attacked his premises.

The Legislative Council, or Senate of Nebraska territory, after rejecting the Bill for the abolition of Slavery throughout the territory—as stated in our last Summary—has retraced its steps by re-considering and accepting a new Bill, submitted by a democratic member. This measure is most important as the first assertion of "popular sovereignty" against the wishes of the President, and in opposition to the Dred Scott decision. It is said, however, that the Governor has "vetoed" the Bill.

A memorial to the Legislature of Maryland is in circulation, praying for the passage of a law to take the census of the free coloured population of the State, with the view of hiring out, to the highest bidder at public sale, those able to work, for twelve months, a portion of the proceeds to go to the support of aged and infirm free coloured persons, and the balance, after the payment of all expenses, to be paid to the person so hired. It is said that the citizens of St. Mary's county are generally opposed to the proposed forcible expulsion of the free coloured population from the State, or their perpetual enslavement.

The Governor of Missouri has refused his signature to the Bill banishing free negroes from the States after the 11th of January ultimo, which had passed both Houses.

The *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* held its twenty-eighth annual meeting on the 26th of January last, with great success.

The *Liberator* of the 3rd of February announces the death, in her seventy-third year, of Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen, a lady who has for many years figured prominently as an ultra-abolitionist, and whose contributions to anti-slavery literature are varied,

numerous, and elegant, as well as powerful.

The Legislature of Georgia has passed a law prohibiting manumission of slaves by their masters after death.

On Thursday, the 2nd of February last, being the ninth week of the Session, and on the forty-fourth ballot, William Pennington, of New Jersey, Republican, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington, by one majority. He received 114 votes, to 65 for John A. McClernand, of Illinois, Democrat, and 16 for John A. Gilmer, of North Carolina, Know-Nothing. On Friday, the 3rd, John W. Forney, of the Philadelphia *Press*, was elected Clerk of the House by a vote of 112, being one more than was necessary to a choice. Mr. Forney is an anti-Buchanan Democrat, and for many years has been actively engaged in politics. He filled the office of Clerk, for a few years, with distinguished ability.

The Rev. Dr. Cheever has disclaimed personal responsibility for the warning given to the Landdrost Rochussen's negro servant to quit the pew he occupied. In another column will be found a brief article upon this subject. Dr. Cheever has just published a new work entitled "The Guilt of Slavery and the crime of slaveholding, demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures."

Considerable excitement had been occasioned in Plymouth Church, New York (presided over by the Rev. H. Ward Beecher), in consequence of his having employed all his influence to negative a resolution to discontinue the Churches' annual vote to the *American Board*, on account of its pro-slavery policy. Mr. Beecher's speech is said to have been quite apologetic for the Board.

The Court of Appeals at Albany (the highest tribunal of the State of New York), has recently been the scene of a singular legal controversy. The point in dispute was, whether a Southern gentleman may bring his slaves *in transitu* through the State of New York. The accepted doctrine hitherto has been, that as by the laws of New York there is no Slavery, the slave who comes there by the assent of his master is by that act made a free man. An attempt is now made to have this doctrine declared unsound, and to have it affirmed, that in spite of local law, Slavery may be intruded upon the social state of New York. There can be but one decision from the State Courts; but their decision is only a stepping-stone to that of the Supreme Court at Washington. That tribunal will now be asked to follow up the Dred Scott case, and affirm the universality of Slavery throughout the United States.

WEST INDIES.—His Excellency, Governor Hincks, had arrived, with his family, at Barbados, and been enthusiastically received by the people.

In Trinidad, the unofficial members of the Council of Government had resigned *en masse*, in consequence of the refusal of the Duke of Newcastle to allow a series of four ordinances, to raise new taxes for immigration purposes, on the ground "that so long as any portion of the expenses of immigration are borne by the general revenue, no new tax should be imposed other than a tax falling upon the employers of immigrants." His Grace adds, as another reason for the course he has adopted, that "the application of public money, drawn from the colonists at large, to the support or encouragement of any particular species of industry and enterprise, is in the nature of a bounty upon that species, and is opposed to all received principles of commercial policy."

The Administrator of the Government at St. Vincent opened the Legislative business of the session on the 10th of January, and dwelt almost exclusively upon the necessity of immigration, which he alleged to be absolutely requisite for the island, but which can be looked for only from India. The Council and Assembly had addressed a petition to the Queen, praying for the appointment of a royal Commission "to inquire into the present state of agricultural labour in the British West Indies, and the wants of those Colonies in relation thereto, and into the cause of that want, and the system of immigration best adapted to relieve the same."

In British Guiana the immigration question continued to embarrass the Court of Policy. The Governor, carrying out his own views, and strengthened by those of the Duke of Newcastle, as set forth in the Trinidad despatch, had stated positively that government assistance to promote immigration could not be depended upon, nor looked forward to. A hundred thousand dollars more would be required for this purpose, during 1860, than had been expended in 1859, and the planters must provide the amount out of their own resources.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF LORDS.
(Friday, January 27th.)

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

LORD BROUGHAM, in rising to move, according to notice, for returns relating to the importation of cotton, said he understood there would be no objection on the part of the Government to granting them. He thought it would be most satisfactory to all to know that since the repeal of the duty there had been such an enormous increase in the importation of cotton, from 63,000,000 lb. to 1,024,000,000 lb., or thirty-two-fold on all cottons, and an increase of sixteen-fold on the importations from the United States alone, which had risen from 23,000,000 lb. to 830,000,000 lb. This enormous increase in the importation of cotton—so advantageous to our manufacturers

and the community generally—had been accomplished at the trifling cost of about 500,000*l.*, which was the amount of the duty upon cotton previous to its remission. He hoped the fact would be an encouragement to repeal duties without any regard to what was called the reciprocity system, but to repeal them simply because we wished to get rid of the burden imposed upon ourselves by those duties. There were now no less than 480 articles upon which Excise or Customs duties were levied, to the great obstruction of trade and the injury and vexation of those who dealt in the articles, while the total product to the revenue was under 1,000,000*l.*; indeed, he believed it was only about 700,000*l.*, or not above 1500*l.* per article. He rejoiced in the benefits which had resulted to the people of the United States, as well as to ourselves, from our repeal of the duty on raw cotton, but he expected to see those kinsmen of ours suffer greatly by a falling off in the cotton sales; for it should not be forgotten that some of our own colonies presented great facilities for the growth of cotton, and he hoped that in British Guiana, Jamaica, and in Africa, every encouragement would be afforded by the Government to the cultivation of this most important material. Above all, he trusted that a trade in cotton would be opened on the east coast of Africa, in the districts explored by Dr. Livingstone; for upon the high lands of that country cotton to any amount, and of the best quality, might, with a slight encouragement, be raised. He was told that a capital of 20,000*l.* judiciously directed there would be sufficient to secure this very great advantage; and he did hope, that if it were inexpedient for the Government to interfere in such matters, his wealthy as well as worthy friends at Manchester and Liverpool would lend a hand to promote that in which they had so great an interest, and would help to raise the money. Let us consider how this change would operate in the United States. There they have what they call the domestic institution, though we might rather call it an offence than an institution, except that, not many years ago, we were ourselves offenders. So the slave-trade, as well as Slavery, was defended by referring to its antiquity, and here again we had little to say, having been, till of late years, ourselves culprits. That the Americans had not ceased to offend when we did is deeply to be lamented, although their Government appears well-disposed to put down the traffic; but they have, in parts at least of the Union, now committed an offence in which we never at any time had any share—an outrage so atrocious as almost to exceed belief, and to make one hope that the accounts of it which have reached this country have no foundation. They have declared all the free people of colour slaves, unless they instantly go into banishment. It is supposed that this may be only a threat in Maryland, but in Arkansas it has been carried into execution. Many persons have been driven from their homes, and those who refused to go have been reduced to bondage. All this enormity is grounded on the inability of the State to control those poor people from the defective condition of its police. That such a crime should be perpetrated in the middle of the nineteenth century—nay, in any

age, or by any civilized people—seems altogether incredible, and one hopes to see the whole statement contradicted. A wholesale massacre of the unhappy race would not be much more shocking to our feelings; and might be justified by the same kind of reasons as are used to defend this monstrous proceeding, the convenience of the State in getting rid of a troublesome part of its subjects, and the high antiquity of the crime; for certainly murder dates from the very beginning of the world, the first man who was born having murdered the second. All these things, however, belong to the internal affairs of the United States, and we have no right to complain: but we have a right to feel; and it is impossible to restrain the feelings of reprobation, nay, of horror, from finding vent in the accents of indignation. If, however, we have no right to complain of our kinsmen in the Southern States, so will they have no right whatever to complain of us if we take every course most likely to increase our supply of cotton from other quarters than their grounds, although the effect of that change may be not only to secure the benefits to our own manufacturers, but to shake the 'domestic institution,' which it most assuredly will, as our markets take seven-eighths of all that the Southern grow. He should be glad to learn from the noble Duke that these accounts from the United States can be contradicted; and that if no direct encouragement can be given to cotton-planting in our own colonies, and in Africa, at least all obstacles to it will be removed, and these on the west coast as well as the east. But without further pursuing the subject at present, he should be satisfied with moving for a return of the quantities of cotton imported from all countries for the years 1858, 1859, 1846, and 1815, before the repeal of the duty, distinguishing the countries from which imported, with the amount of the revenue levied on the same in the years 1815 and 1844.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE of course had no objection to the production of this return, and assured his noble friend at the same time that the Government had a deep sense of the importance of extending as much as possible the growth of cotton. In Jamaica, as his noble friend knew, attempts were being made to introduce the cotton plant, but both there and in other colonies the great difficulty was, not so much in the soil as in the want of sufficiently cheap labour. It was not the practice of the Government to enter into commercial speculations, which in this country were properly left to private enterprise; but so far as the Government could assist the efforts now being made to further the growth of cotton they would certainly do so. Thus, on receiving information that in Ceylon lands were being brought into cultivation for this purpose, the Government, departing from their usual custom of not parting with Crown lands except upon sale, granted certain of those lands for the period of five years, in order that the experiment might be tried. In the new colony of Queensland, in Australia, attempts were also being made to introduce the cotton plant, and he earnestly trusted that both there and in other of the British dominions this experiment would be successful.

The BISHOP of OXFORD had heard with satisfaction what had fallen from the noble duke. It was quite true that it was not the custom of the British Government to engage in direct speculations to promote the trade in any article, but with regard to the growth of cotton, the British Government had rendered great assistance in another way—namely, by making the highways of the great continent of Africa—the rivers—accessible to English merchants, so that cotton might be cultivated on each side of them, and the traders have a safe passage up and down. The difficulty which was experienced in other countries of obtaining free-labour to produce cotton did not exist in Africa, where there was an abundant native population, whose cultivation of cotton would be attended with the additional advantage of introducing a wholesome and lawful commerce, which would absolutely destroy the slave trade; for the only way by which that trade could be ultimately destroyed was by teaching the African chiefs that the employment of their dependent people in the production of the raw material of cotton would be more advantageous than selling them into slavery for transportation to other parts of the world. He therefore earnestly trusted that the attention of the Government would be directed to the maintenance and even to the increase of efforts for opening the great rivers in Africa, especially the Zambesi, the opening of which he believed the Government was about to aid, and the Niger, which for years the Government had assisted in opening.

LORD OVERSTONE believed that a question of more importance than that relating to the extension of the sources for the supply of the raw material of cotton could not be brought under the consideration of the Legislature. He had therefore heard with satisfaction the statement of the noble duke, that the attention of the Government was directed to this subject, and that every encouragement consistent with sound principles would be afforded to extend the supply of cotton. The noble and learned lord had stated, that within a short period the importation of cotton had multiplied thirty-two-fold in this country; and when their lordships considered how extensive was the demand for cotton goods throughout the world, they would at once perceive that it was a serious matter to have for the supply of the raw material only a single source, liable to be affected by the uncertainties of climate, to say nothing of the obstacles which any unfortunate state of political relations might raise up in the way of our merchants applying to that source. He trusted that no efforts would be omitted by the people of this country to promote every rational enterprise for the supply of cotton in every quarter where it could be obtained, and that all the encouragement, which the Government could legitimately give, would be afforded.

LORD WODEHOUSE said that their lordships were aware that the attention of several Administrations had been given to the important point of opening up the rivers of Africa; and two expeditions with that view were now actually in progress, one on the Niger, and the other on the Zambesi. From both very satisfactory information had been received with respect to the supply

of cotton; and he would read a short extract from a recent despatch of Dr. Livingstone, dated May 12, 1859, referring to his visit to Lake Shirura and the adjacent country:

"Cotton is cultivated largely, and the further we went the crop appeared to be of the greater importance. The women alone were well clothed with the produce; the men being content with goatskins and a cloth made of bark of certain trees. Every one spins and weaves cotton. Even chiefs may be seen with the spindle and bag, which serves as a distaff. The process of manufacture is the most rude and tedious that can be conceived. The cotton goes through five processes with the fingers before it comes to the loom. Time is of no value. They possess two varieties of the plant. One, indigenous, yields cotton more like wool than that of other countries. It is strong, and feels rough in the hand. The other variety is from imported seed, yielding a cotton that renders it unnecessary to furnish the people with American seed. A point in its culture worth noticing is, the time of planting has been selected so that the plants remain in the ground during winter, and five months or so after sowing they come to maturity before the rains begin or insects come forth to damage the crop."

On May 31, Dr. Livingstone again wrote:

"Only two or three of the Portuguese have planted cotton. The people of the Shire, on the contrary, brought several bags of cotton for sale on our second visit, though no time had elapsed to allow of planting since we informed them of the existence of a market. The cotton trade is quite ready for development among them by agents such as Sierra Leone supplies to the Niger. The inhabitants are quite independent of the Portuguese, but unless a late ordinance of the Government of Portugal allows foreigners to settle in the country neither cotton nor sugar will be collected." Reports had at the same time been received from the Niger, stating that a very great increase in the produce of cotton had taken place, but the extension of the supply in certain districts was mainly dependent on the suppression of the slave-trade. He wished he could state that that great object—the suppression of the slave-trade—was near accomplishment. He was sorry, however, to say that the slave-trade, on the contrary, had increased, and tended to a still further increase. He concurred in thinking that the extension of industry and legitimate commerce among the natives of Africa was the ultimate means of extinguishing this most deplorable and execrable trade; and as the cultivation of cotton was a most important branch of industry, the supply of the demand of this country for that article would coincide in a marked degree with the suppression of the slave-trade. He was not prepared to discuss the matter referred to by the noble and learned lord relating to the internal affairs of America; but as regards the slave-trade, the United States had by a recent measure shewn their disposition to suppress it; so that he trusted the people of that country would never recur to the cursed traffic.

EARL GREY observed it was quite true, as stated by the noble duke, that in our own colonies the want of labour must for many years be an ob-

stacle to any sensible increase in the production of cotton; but in Africa there was an immense territory fitted for the cotton cultivation, and a population sufficient to carry it on. He was sorry to hear that the slave-trade had increased, and he was afraid that its increased activity was mainly owing to the assistance it derived from the American flag. To the infinite and eternal disgrace of the United States, that country allowed its flag to be prostituted for the purpose of enabling the slave-traders to defeat the efforts made for the suppression of the trade. He believed that if that went on, America would incur the reprobation of every man of right feeling throughout the civilized world. She would place herself under the ban of humanity, and it was impossible that their lordships could express too strongly the indignation they must feel at such disgraceful conduct on the part of a great country. But, besides America, he should have been glad to hear from the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs that another powerful nation, which was deeply to blame in the matter of Slavery, had seen the error of her ways, and had adopted a wiser policy. He should have liked to hear from his noble friend what was the position of France with respect to the slave-trade. Their lordships knew what France had done. While she had nominally abolished Slavery in her dominions, her Government had directly authorized the purchase of what were in mockery called "free emigrants," of men brought down in chains to the coast and shipped as free emigrants to French colonies. Their lordships were told last year that this atrocious system had been put down on the East Coast of Africa. He wanted to know what was going on at present on the West Coast. There, he was informed, the system still continued, and under the name of *dépôts d'industrie*, the French Government had slave-markets, established in places to which the slave-trader might bring his goods, and be certain of a market. To pretend to have abolished Slavery in the French colonies while these markets were open for slaves was a mockery and a delusion. Every one knew that the receiver of stolen goods was the main promoter of theft, and was a more dangerous person than the actual thief. So with respect to Slavery. The Under-Secretary had told their lordships that the growth of cotton in certain parts of Africa had been stopped by recent slave-hunts. For what purpose were these slave-hunts undertaken? Were they or were they not undertaken for the purpose of obtaining victims to supply the contract authorized by the French Government? That was a circumstance which their lordships ought to know. England, of course, had no authority to dictate to France. France might do what she thought right; but if she continued to encourage the accursed traffic in slaves, she must expect to have members in both Houses of Parliament freely expressing their opinions of her conduct, and to find that conduct condemned throughout the civilized world.

LORD WODEHOUSE regretted to be obliged to concur in the statement of the noble earl that the American flag had been prostituted for the protection of the slave-trade; but, on the other hand, it was some consolation to know that the United-States' Government had acknowledged that their

squadron on the coast of Africa was ineffective, and had increased it by some small vessels. The proposed addition had not been as fully carried out as he trusted it would be; but still, what had been done shewed the determination of the American Government to maintain the purity of their flag, and to prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa. He was likewise obliged to concur in the remarks of his noble friend upon the French emigration scheme, but he was happy to say that the French Government had put an end to the system on the East Coast of Africa, and had expressed its intention, when the existing contract had terminated, to abandon it on the West Coast also. Negotiations were commenced by the late Government with the Government of France for the emigration of Coolies from our territories in India. Those negotiations had been continued by the present Government, and he trusted they would be brought to a successful termination, in which case the French Government would doubtless fulfil its promise to put an end to the unhappy emigration of blacks from Africa, an emigration which, however humanely conducted, under whatever precautions, must tend to perpetuate the horrors of the slave-trade.

The motion was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, February 3.)

THE FRENCH EMIGRATION SCHEME.

MR. CAVE wished to ask the Minister for India a question relative to a projected treaty with France, enabling that country to draw a supply of labour for her colonies from our Indian territories. Knowing that Sir Frederick Rogers was in Paris last year for the purpose of arranging the terms of the treaty in question, and that he returned to England without having succeeded in the object of his mission, he had hoped and imagined that the design had been entirely abandoned. But certain remarks by a noble lord in another place on Friday evening last had shewn him that the scheme was still under consideration. He would briefly state what the project was. Shortly after the emancipation of slaves in the French colonies consequent upon the revolution of 1848, the same results took place as those which were experienced in our own plantations. The emancipated negroes shewed a natural repugnance to that agricultural labour which was their lot during Slavery, and retired in large numbers from the estates. It was also well known that the remedies so confidently suggested to us of high wages on the one side, or Government interference on the other, proved unavailing to induce them to return. Accordingly, the French planters were obliged to follow the example of our own, and to look elsewhere for a supply of labour. The French Government thought the matter one of public concern, and established a very large and comprehensive scheme of emigration from the coast of Africa. How that scheme was conducted the Blue-book published last session abundantly testified. We found complaints from the West Coast of Africa of so-called "free emigrants" brought down in chains, of the destruction of the civilization of various African communities, and of the degradation of the flag and uniform of France by the slave-trade. Precisely the same

transactions took place on the East Coast, and the fact was, indeed, that in the present condition of Africa a free emigration from that quarter was impossible. With the exception of some few places where the population was scanty, and not fit for agricultural labour, an emigration from Africa necessarily implied a renewal of the internal slave-trade. The conduct of France was embarrassing to England, and Lord Clarendon, and after him Lord Malmesbury, addressed strong remonstrances to the Emperor on the subject of the emigration scheme. They saw, no doubt, that the perseverance of France must necessarily lead us either to a rupture with our powerful neighbour, or else to acknowledge having been forced to abandon our traditional policy, because it would have been impossible to continue restrictive measures on the coast of Africa if one Power were allowed openly to defy them. Though our Ministers were glad of any opportunity of escaping from this dilemma, he must object to the plan they adopted of furnishing the French colonists with labourers from our Indian possessions, as a sort of bribe for giving up the African emigration. The House knew how strict and jealous were the regulations with which our emigration of Coolies from British India to the West-India Islands was rightly surrounded. Nothing could exceed the care which was taken of the Coolies. From the moment of agreeing to indenture themselves to British colonists to that of setting foot again in their native India, officers of emigration at every port, stipendiary magistrates in every district, made them the object of their watchful vigilance and solicitude. In common justice to our own colonists and to the Indians themselves, we should be as strict and uncompromising in regard to France. But could the Government say this was possible? He might be told that the French might give up their own Passenger Act and adopt ours, and that our consuls might act as emigration officers in the ports of the French colonies. But was it possible to doubt that a jealous and sensitive nation like France would not allow the interference of foreign officials to be any thing but nominal? He did not say that the emigrants would be ill-treated, though certain recent events were rather suspicious; but he should like to know, for instance, how long they were to be indentured for. It could not be for less than five years—a long time in the history of Slavery; and were we prepared, in the event of any of the emigrants being ill-treated, or their liberty improperly curtailed, to demand their restoration? The example of Spain shewed we were not. We knew that slaves at the rate of 40,000 a-year were introduced into Cuba, contrary to express treaty with Spain, for which we paid her, and yet we did not demand that they should be restored to liberty. Upon these grounds he wished to ask the Secretary of State for India whether Government still contemplate legalizing the exportation of natives of British India as indentured labourers to French colonies.

Sir C. Wood replied, that with respect to the question relating to the exportation of natives of India to French colonies, when he came to the India Office he found that a treaty was being negotiated with the French for the purpose of allowing the exportation of Coolie labourers to

those colonies in the same manner as the exportation had been legalized in regard to the British colonies, it being hoped that by that means an end might be put to the system of Slavery—for it amounted to that—which had been carried on upon the Eastern Coast of Africa. The question was not concluded, but he could assure the hon. gentleman, on the part of the Government, that in any arrangements that might be made every care would be taken to promote the comfort and advantage of the Coolies.

MR. STEPHEN CAVE, M.P., AT BRADFORD.

WE have received, from a correspondent in the West Indies the following remarks upon the paper read at the Bradford Social Science Meeting by Mr. Cave, M.P. We let it speak for itself.

"The argument relied upon, in support of the immigration schemes of the West-India colonies have seldom been presented in a form which renders more conspicuous their fallaciousness, than in the paper read before the Social Science Association at Bradford by Mr. Stephen Cave; and in which the expediency of those schemes, as measures of public polity, is sought to be established. In this object, indeed, Mr. Cave so singularly fails, that in controverting the position he defends, it is scarcely necessary to seek for arguments or illustrations, other than those his advocacy of it supplies.

"If, as Mr. Cave observes, 'a quarter of a century ought to have softened, if not extinguished, the violent personal hostility which so great a revolution as the abolition of Slavery necessarily excited,' certain it is that lapse of time has not been productive of other results, which might as reasonably have been anticipated. It has, at least, as the measures which constitute the special objects of that gentleman's advocacy abundantly evidence, proved all insufficient to extinguish in the landowner of the West Indies the taste for compulsory labour, which Slavery engendered and gratified; to reconcile him to his position as the purchaser of labour he formerly could coerce.

"I set out," says Mr. Cave, 'with confessing my opinion to be, that economically the emancipation of the slaves has not been so successful as its great and benevolent originators could have desired.' How emancipation has in this respect disappointed the expectations of its promoters is afterwards more particularly set forth, and amounts in brief to this—that sugar is produced in less quantity and at higher cost by the freed than it was, and elsewhere *is*, by the enslaved labour.* To believe that this result was neither

anticipated nor desired by those by whom the enfranchisement of the British bondsman was achieved, would be to hold, as singularly deficient in sagacity or sincerity, men heretofore universally esteemed, in these respects, to have been specially endowed. That, under Slavery, the labourer was over-worked and under-remunerated, were among the chief wrongs for which that institution was held responsible, and to remedy which its abolition was so earnestly and persistently demanded. To the existence of those wrongs, the abundant and profitable production of Slavery was confessedly due: their redress, then, as of necessity, involved a diminished and more costly production. If this was a result which the abolitionists neither intended nor foresaw, they did not intend the accomplishment of the objects for which they most strenuously contended, or did not foresee an inevitable consequence of their attainment, obvious to the very meanest capacity.

"But though sugar cultivation has not, particularly in the more thinly-populated colonies, greatly prospered under emancipation, that measure, Mr. Cave concedes, has not been altogether barren of other beneficial results. What we have lost in sugar, we have, it seems, in some measure, gained in morality and social statics. 'Looking,' he observes, 'at what the white and the better class of coloured and black people in the West-Indies are now, and remembering what they were in the days of Slavery, there can, in a moral point of view, be no comparison between them.' 'True, it is,' he continues, 'that this cannot be attributed entirely to emancipation, as a corresponding improvement has taken place in the same classes in this country.' The inference to the prejudice of emancipation is not a very strictly logical deduction from the premises: it is by no means clear, because a like consequence has elsewhere been the effect of other causes, that therefore, in the West-Indies, it is not altogether due to emancipation. The loyalty, however, of his reasoning apart, the circumstance adduced by Mr. Cave legitimately leads to an exactly opposite conclusion to that to which it has conducted him. The present improved, as the former degraded condition of the English labourer, and of the negro in the West-India Colonies, are ascribable to causes extremely analogous, if not identical. To overtasked and ill-regulated labour and consequent social debasement, Slavery condemned the one, and overpopulated the other. What emancipation has effected for the slave, emigration, free trade, and the recent gold discoveries have achieved for the English operative. By relieving the overcrowded labour-market, and by creating a largely extended demand for the products of his industry, and by diminishing the cost of the necessaries and comforts he consumes, they have secured to him a less inordinately toilsome ex-

* To this latter proposition we demur.—ED.
A.-S. R.

istence and more liberal compensation for his labour. Improved material prosperity has, in both cases, been attended by improved morals, and by those other advances in civilization, which ordinarily follow in its footsteps, and which are impossible to an abjectness of condition such as that under which the classes in question, in both hemispheres, formerly so lamentably suffered.

"That the people are better fed, better clothed, better taught, and less immoderately worked (which, as regards the West-Indian colonies since emancipation, is admitted), as the results of the adoption of a particular line of policy, would elsewhere be accepted as sufficient evidence of its success. Not so, however, in Jamaica; at least, not so with Mr. Cave and those who think with him. The measure that has been productive of these advantages, with them is still a failure, if it has not likewise been productive of much sugar. With them it avails not, if exports have diminished, that imports have largely increased—if the people produce less, that they enjoy more. They admit but of production as the test of prosperity and of sagacious and beneficent legislation. With them, therefore, Jamaica was prosperous when she exported 150,000 hogsheads of sugar, though the great mass of her people were then in the condition of beasts of burthen, and that abundant production was due to the stimulating influence of the lash. With them Cuba is prosperous, because she annually largely increases her sugar crops, though she would be doing so at the cost of the extermination of her labouring population, did she not supply herself with slaves somewhat more rapidly than she works them to death. Such is the political creed of which Mr. Stephen Cave is the exponent, and which he proposes as the basis of legislation for our West-India Colonies. It would seem to possess but few attractions to the philanthropic, but even to their acceptance it is not, he conceives, without strong recommendations. We never, he contends, shall succeed in inducing other nations to abolish Slavery, if all we can shew of the result of that measure with us is a well-to-do and contented people. If we would make converts to our morality, we must shew that our morality has cost us nothing, if it has not been even somewhat gainful to us. We must win the slaveowner over to emancipation by convincing him that we can so legislate as to get as much work, perhaps a little more, out of the freed negro as was forced from the slave, and at as little, perhaps at rather less cost; that we can substitute for the lash a coercion not less stimulating; that we can grant freedom, yet withhold all its privileges. The ground of high and uncompromising morality, upon which freedom for the slave, with us, was claimed and won, is no longer, in their own latter days, to

be insisted upon: in deference to the ruling passion of the times, the claims of justice and humanity are to be admitted only where the commercial balance is in their favour.

"It is not very obvious, that in the ordering of its internal affairs, it behoves a State to be particularly regardful of how far the influence of its example may operate to induce in its neighbours the adoption of a corresponding policy to that it deems, in its own circumstances, proper or expedient; least of all is such a consideration entitled to weight, when the question involved is one of principle. But, admitting it to be otherwise, and that, in the matter of emancipation, it was not sufficient that we put away sin from among ourselves, but were also bound to do what in us lay to win over the partakers in our transgressions to become also sharers in our conversion: the means by which Mr. Cave proposes the attainment of that end are surely such as it will scarcely justify, and are of a morality but little less questionable than would be the endeavour to dissuade from housebreaking by the suggestion of forgery being at least as profitable.

"In sugar cultivation, free-labour, under ordinary existing conditions, is dearer, and consequently cannot, Mr. Cave alleges, successfully compete with slave-labour. The culture is one which permits of 'large gangs being easily and economically controlled by one driver,' and consequently of as much enforced work being got out of the labourer as he is capable of. And as, for a severity of toil which, it is asserted, exhausts existence in eight to ten years, the slaves' remuneration is limited in Cuba, the great sugar-producing rival of the West-India colonies, to 'the miserable rags which half clothe him, and just food enough to keep body and soul together, it stands to reason that there, and wherever else the same system prevails, the master receives the labourer's profit as well as his own,' and by so much, and by the excess of labour he is enabled to extract from his bondsmen, is at advantage (omitting certain exceptional cases) over the employer of free-labour.

"Such, accepting Mr. Cave's own statement of the case, is the nature of the competition with which our sugar-producing possessions in the West have to contend. Their rival produces cheaply by robbing the labourer of his hire; they can hold the market with him only by producing upon like terms. But in our thinly-peopled colonies the labourer needs not, and therefore will not, accept in requital of life-destroying toil a scanty covering of miserable rags, and just food enough to keep body and soul together: these, and indeed something more, are in his circumstances to be had on very much easier terms. Yet unless he can be brought to yield to such conditions, it is certain we never can cultivate

sugar against Cuba, and that we should do so is, it seems, with Mr. Cave, a point of honour. Are there, then, no means whereby the control over negro's thews and sinews, which we lost in letting drop the slave whip, may be regained? whereby (emancipation notwithstanding) the labourer, as effectually as by slavery, may be subjugated to the will of his employer? This, in effect, is the problem Mr. Cave proposes, and of which he offers immigration as the solution. That the contemplated end is quite within the means proposed, will not be questioned by those who have given to the direful distress which, in the freest country in the world, occasionally overwhelms her working-classes, sufficient thought to penetrate its cause—for whom that melancholy canticle 'The Song of the Shirt' has not been sung in vain. There will, in the history of these classes, unhappily occur epochs, when, in spite of the abundance and prosperity, population presses so cruelly upon subsistence as to leave the labourer no option but to accept service upon terms even more extortionate than those exacted from the Cuban slave; and it is quite possible, where such a condition of things does not arise in the natural order of events, artificially to produce it, as Mr. Cave suggests, by extensive immigration. By sufficiently over-crowding the labour-market, so fierce may be rendered the struggle for existence, so keen the bidding for employment, as to produce a cheapness of labour, against which even the slaveowners will not be able to contend, and Jamaica to be made the employer's heaven and the labourer's hell.

"Mr. Cave's views, and the tendency of the policy he advocates, are here, it is to be observed, in no respect misrepresented or exaggerated. They are but simply stated, though perhaps in somewhat plainer terms than, in his exposition of them, he has himself employed. If immigration falls any thing short of these effects, it fails in equalizing the cost of slave and free-grown sugar, and consequently altogether disappoints the expectations of its supporters, who recommend and rely upon it solely as a means to that end.

"That Mr. Cave's opinions, as embodying the essence of political wisdom, should meet the cordial approbation of those whose interests they alone consult, is not very surprising. But the government strangely departs from its legitimate functions, which seeks to promote a cultivation that can successfully be maintained only on such conditions. If it succeeds, it accomplishes an end exactly opposite to that, to achieve which its best energies should be directed—it makes subsistence more difficult than it would be were its interposition withheld. If it fails, its misdirected efforts will still have been instrumental in retarding and obstructing the natural tendency of labour and capital to settle to that description of industry and production

most suitable to the circumstances of the country, and most conducing to the happiness and welfare of its people.

"Jamaica, December 20, 1859."

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON DR. CHEEVER.

THE following letter has been addressed to us by an old and much-esteemed subscriber to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. It was accidentally shut out from our February Number, though in type.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'ANTI-SLAVERY
REPORTER.'

"SIR—Allow me, as one of 'the friends of anti-slavery in this country,' to say, that it was with both surprise and regret I read your explanatory and apologetic note in this month's *Reporter* for having allowed a speech of Wendell Phillips, recently delivered in New York, to appear in last month's Number.

"What, I would ask, is an *Anti-Slavery Reporter* worth, if it refuses its readers the pleasure and profit of listening through its columns to one who is, without controversy, the most eloquent and fearless advocate, on either side of the Atlantic, of genuine anti-slavery principles and action? What although Mr. Phillips does hold and propound opinions as to the course which Dr. Cheever ought to pursue in his conflict with the slave-power in the United States, with which a few of your readers do not sympathize? is that a valid reason, I respectfully ask, why your editorial independence in the selection of anti-slavery intelligence should be shackled, and, consequently, those friends of anti-slavery in this country, who are accustomed to look to your columns for such information, be deprived of the opportunity of judging for themselves whether the opinions of *this* or *that* party do more clearly indicate the right way for the more speedily attaining the end for which Anti-Slavery Societies are organized and *Anti-Slavery Reporters* are published? I am free to say that I am one of many who very cordially thank you for affording your readers the opportunity of perusing the speech referred to.

"I am, your's, &c., AN ABOLITIONIST.

"Edinburgh, 7th January, 1860."

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

PROFITS OF SLAVE DEALING.—DEATHS OF 479 OUT OF 1200 IN ONE VOYAGE.—The slaver Captain, Don Eugenio Vinas, has made another—his 84th or 85th—successful voyage to the coast of Africa. He took on board the *Julia*, in which vessel he sailed hence some eight or nine months ago, if I remember right, under Brazilian colours, 1200 Bozals, but 450 of them died on the voyage; the residue were landed about three weeks ago, between Cardenas and Sagua le Grande. Twenty-nine more of the Bozals died before the cargo was landed. The Spanish authorities, however, made a fine haul, for I hear Don

Eugenio paid them above 100,000 dollars. At the place of landing some of the parties interested meant to be present, and among them were some friends, who came ashore from the vessel in a launch, with five of the Bozals, but on reaching the shore they were all arrested, and had to pay handsomely to go free. The vessel has again sailed, or will shortly do so, for the coast of Africa, under a new captain and crew sent to her on the 6th instant, as Don Eugenio Vinas never goes back a second time in the same vessel. He was on the wharf last Monday, boasting that after all the money he had to pay in bribes, he had made more than 180,000 dollars by the trip, in about eight months, and that he could now afford to take a few months' pleasure in Spain, where he intended to go by the Spanish mail-steamer, to sail on the 12th instant. He walked about quite independently, apparently utterly regardless of the general attention his presence caused.—*Havana Correspondence of the New-York Herald.*

AMERICAN TYRANNY.—At the April term, 1859, of the Circuit Court for Cecil County, Maryland, a free coloured man about twenty years of age, named John Scott, was tried for going out of the State and returning thereto, contrary to law, and convicted of the offence. He was sentenced to pay a fine of 20 dollars and costs, and, in default thereof, to be sold as a slave. The fine was not paid, and John Scott has been sold at Elkton, at public sale, to the highest bidder, for 975 dollars. He was sold as a slave for life, and is, no doubt, before this on his way to a Southern market. The purchaser was a man named Fairbank, from Baltimore.—*New-York Tribune.*

ATTEMPT TO ENSLAVE A FREE FAMILY.—The Louisville Democrat gives an account of a conspiracy to enslave a family of free negroes in Louisville, Ky. A number of years since, a negro and his family were emancipated, and, by industry and frugality, they secured a sufficient sum to purchase their son, who afterwards married a slave girl, who was also purchased by the parents. Bills of sale were taken and held by the father, but at the same time he granted his son and daughter-in-law free papers. On Sunday the old negro died very suddenly, and without any predisposing causes. Immediately a tailor, named McGrath, living on the same square, took the initiative steps towards enslaving negroes. McGrath and another person applied to a lawyer named Clearly. They told him that they had a fine chance for a good speculation, and promised him 400 dollars for his share of the ill-gotten booty. Clearly jumped at the tempting bait, and prepared bills of sale from the old negro to McGrath, and to the document signed his name with the X mark. Having progressed thus far, they proceeded to take possession of the negroes, and were astonished to find free papers staring them in the face. Their rascality was thus easily exposed. The lawyer Clearly and McGrath were both lodged in jail. The lawyer intended to turn State's evidence. There will be some curious developments in this matter. It is surmised by many that foul means were used to produce the old negro's death, from its great suddenness.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1860.

NOTICE.

WE beg to inform the Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and likewise to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, that their Subscriptions are now due for the year 1860, and we shall feel obliged by the amount being remitted by Post-Office Order, made payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post Office, Bishopsgate Street Within, London, E. C.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SPEAKERSHIP.

A FEW words on the struggle for the Speakership of the House of Representatives at Washington, the termination of which, after a nine weeks' contest, in favour of a Republican candidate, by a majority of one, may be regarded as a great victory achieved by this new party of politicians. The obstinacy of the struggle furnishes a proof of the importance each party attached to the issue. Virtually it places a large amount of patronage in the hands of the Republican party, and, for the first time in the history of the battle between Slavery and Freedom, the political victory remains on the side of justice. This great result forebodes good. It is most probable that the Republican candidate will be successful in the forthcoming election for President; and although the new party is not abolitionist, it is not pro-slavery. It is the thin edge of the abolitionist wedge, inserted into the body political of the Federation, and it may confidently be anticipated that the growth of public opinion in favour of abolition will, perhaps ere long, drive it home. We believe the number is exceedingly small of those who consider that, politically speaking, any practical effect will result from an agitation for the abolition of Slavery in America, based exclusively upon abstract principles of right. Every legitimate means will have to be employed, and foremost amongst these is the ballot-box. When it comes to be a question at American elections—as it was on similar occasions in Great Britain—whether the candidate for popular suffrage is for Slavery or for Freedom, we may believe the day is near which shall dawn on the true era of American greatness. Such a result, however, is not to be brought about at once, nor by one mode of action. Abolitionists like Mr. Garrison have their work to do, and political abolitionists have

theirs. Let each work without denouncing the other, and the victory must come in due time. Meanwhile we record our satisfaction at the result of the contest for Speaker, regarding it as a most hopeful sign of "the good time coming."

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER'S CHURCH.

UNDER the heading of "The Negro pew in the Rev. Dr. Cheever's Church," we published in our last *Reporter* a letter addressed to us by a gentleman, whose negro servant had been requested to remove from the seat he occupied in the church, to one in another part of the building. As we received the communication from the party chiefly interested in this transaction, and the communication came to us in the most authentic form, we considered it our duty to give it currency, especially as other reports—more or less exaggerated—of the same occurrence, had already reached this country through the ordinary channels of the New-York press. It appears, that in alleging "the existence of the negro pew in Dr. Cheever's church," we fell into a very pardonable error, which a reference to the text of our correspondent's letter will explain. In so far as we may have done the Rev. Doctor an injustice by making the assertion, in any form, we consider it only just to him to state, that, *at present*, no negro pew does exist. At the same time, the result of inquiries addressed to competent authority, justify us in alleging that distinctions are observed, with regard to the seating of negroes, sufficiently marked to render it a matter of concern that Dr. Cheever cannot do as he wishes in this respect. The *New-York Times*, of the 14th January, asserts that "two young men, of high promise in the community, who have been heretofore actively identified with the anti-slavery designs of the church, requested the sexton, very politely, to suggest to the coloured gentleman the practicability of his taking a seat in the gallery. This request the sexton refused to acquiesce in. One of the trustees of the church then informed the gentleman of the habits and customs of Union-square. The gentleman very specifically and emphatically inquired if "he was in Dr. Cheever's church—the church which was soliciting British aid." Also, "whether coloured men were not allowed there." He was told that they did not mingle promiscuously with the audience. The gentleman then inquired "which door the coloured people could go out of;" and, on being satisfactorily informed, he arose and left the church, accompanied by all the party. At the door he handed out his card, and requested that it should be sent to the pastor." On the Sabbath immediately following this occurrence, Dr. Cheever called attention to it from the pulpit. He said:

"It is very proper to note this occurrence, and to rebuke, on such an occasion, the cruel prejudice against the coloured race everywhere, and in the churches, and their exclusion, as a caste, on account of their colour, even from the prayer-meetings and the sanctuaries of God. In the Fulton-street prayer-meeting, I am informed, the coloured and controverted subject is excluded by law, and we have had accounts of the removal of the black man from the midst of the congregation to a quiet upper room nearer heaven. If coloured men are excluded from the cars and omnibuses on account of their colour, the same community that maintains such an exclusion will also eject them from their lecture-rooms and churches. I have preached and laboured, and prayed, and written against this wickedness in every possible way. The prejudice against the coloured race is one of the bitter fruits of Slavery: it is maintained and increased by Slavery. In proportion as the slaves at the South have multiplied, and the system of Slavery has been strengthened, till at length it has been enthroned in the supreme tribunal of our National Government, in that degree the prejudice against the coloured race has spread and deepened at the North, till the rescript of our national justice, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect, is defended as an article of political and social piety.

"Now, it is well known that we, as a church, have set ourselves against this iniquity. We oppose both the Slavery and the prejudice against colour that grows out of it. But in doing this, it is also well known that we have had enemies and exasperated opponents both within and without. We have had a battle to fight, with the great disadvantage of opposition among our own selves. Even yet all do not see eye to eye. The occurrence that took place last Sabbath was without the knowledge, consent, or approbation of the church. It took place before the services had commenced, and the pastor knew nothing at all of it. In the name of Christ and of his church, we disavow and condemn such a respect to persons, and affirm the duty of the churches and the ministry of every denomination to set themselves against the cruel prejudice that is crushing the coloured race among us, and against the Slavery that is the foundation of such cruelty. We affirm the duty of ministers to preach against it, and of the church to apply against it the exterminating and excommunicating power given to her from God in the Gospel for the abolition of all such wickedness.

"The occurrence was one that might have happened in any church where there is a division of opinion or of feeling on the subject. It is perhaps matter of congratulation that it has taken place just now in our church, since it is sure to be widely noticed on that account, and the prejudice against colour will itself be rebuked in some quarters for the sake of a reproach against us. Poor coloured men are often seated in our church, and up to this time I am not aware that there has ever been any disturbance on that account. We are glad that now the folly and wickedness of this prejudice have been illustrated in the case, as the description says, 'of a European gentleman, high in rank and titles, and connected with the English service.' It being his servant who was

requested to take another seat, the occurrence will excite a notice that would not have been given to the same event anywhere else, or in connection with any poor, obscure coloured persons. We are glad the folly has at length come out in connection with 'respectability and standing.' The treatment of the coloured race in this country is worse than it ever was in any country on the face of the earth. It is a cruelty in glaring opposition to God's word and to all the dictates of humanity. We rejoice in every opportunity of bearing our testimony in the name and for the sake of Christ against it."

Nothing can be stronger than this disclaimer, and Dr. Cheever has a right to the full benefit of it. In his position he has, doubtless, many enemies, and as—to quote the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 21st of January—"the state of things in the Church of the Puritans is anomalous to an almost incredible degree," it is not unlikely they are enabled occasionally to place the Doctor, or his church, in a false position. The question to determine is, not whether there is actually a "negro pew" in the Church, but whether negroes and coloured persons of respectability have the self-same privileges, with regard to the selection of seats, as white persons of the same standing, in other words, whether in Dr. Cheever's church there is "equality before God," as regards complexion.

Then we would inquire, which is "the church," since there are two parties in it? and when Dr. Cheever speaks of "we, as a church," which section does he refer to? These questions have arisen in our minds, in consequence of statements in the *New-York Times* and the *New-York Observer*, which—if true—certainly involve a serious dilemma. From the former journal, of the 18th January, we submit an extract, merely premising that we have run our pen through a few adjectives which indicate that the editor is not an unbiassed writer.

"Dr. Cheever's church, it seems, shares the common fate of assumed exclusive goodness. He claims for it and himself a purity in doctrine and a consistency in practice on the Slavery question, found in no other church in the city; in short, such a marked exception in this respect as to give it an exclusive claim to the patronage of the British public. Dr. Cheever has not, like other clergymen, merely spoken of Slavery as a sin, but denounced churches that allowed slaveholders to be members, as accursed of God. The church took no middle ground: its motto was 'touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing.' It washed itself wholly and entirely of this sin. After a year had been spent in weekly announcements of its principles, and as frequent denunciations of those churches that dared not emulate the example of the Church of the Puritans, it leaked out, that all this very time, a personal friend and liberal supporter of the pastor, and a member of his church was a slaveholder. Dr. Cheever was aware of this fact. . . . At

length the denunciations from the pulpit became so bitter and unsparing that the slaveholder took steps to leave, and did, notwithstanding the assurance of Dr. Cheever, who assured her that he did not include her personally in his assaults on the sin of slaveholding. When this fact was published in the *New-York Observer*, the pastor of the Church of the Puritans kept silence as to himself, but endeavoured to evade the inconsistency between preaching and practice made apparent in this statement, by saying that the fact was entirely unknown to the church. This defence they seemed to think satisfactory, and left the church, on the Slavery question, what it was before. In his eagerness to defend the church, he apparently did not perceive that the excuse, just so far as it exculpated them, condemned him. It was a questionable way of getting out of the difficulty, but, under the circumstances, probably no better could be found."

Now we disclaim any intention of prejudicing anti-slavery friends in England, in relation to the position of Dr. Cheever. The circumstance above referred to, is probably susceptible of a satisfactory explanation, and no doubt Dr. Cheever can furnish it. Our duty is to state facts, and let the public come to its own conclusion. The same journal, however, thus comments upon Dr. Cheever's two explanatory addresses. Referring to the most recent occurrence, it says:

"This fact having got into the papers, Dr. Cheever felt compelled to notice it, and last Sabbath evening, in referring to it, said 'it took place before the services commenced, and the pastor knew nothing about it.' Of course, he condemns it. But this time it is not the pastor who is to blame, but some of the church. When a slaveholder is kept in full communion the church is excused, on the ground of ignorance, though the pastor knows all about it. When a poor black is turned out of the body of the church on account of his colour, Dr. Cheever put in the plea of ignorance on his own part, and places the blame on some members of the church."

Adverting to the same circumstance, the *New-York Observer* of the 19th of January says:

"It will be said by the friends of Dr. Cheever that this was not his act, and that he cannot be held responsible for it. But here again we have Dr. Cheever in the same dilemma. About two months since we published, circumstantially, the statement that Dr. Cheever had had, for a long time, a large slaveholder as a member of his church, in good and regular standing, who, upon leaving, received a regular certificate, and that Dr. Cheever was well acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, and on intimate terms of social intercourse with the person alluded to; of all which facts we had been certified in writing by one who was well acquainted with them. A week or two afterwards, Dr. Cheever said in the *Independent* that some one had told him of such a statement in the *Observer*, and if it were true, the church must have been unacquainted with the fact. But we did not say the church knew it: we said that we had authority for stating that

for years, while he was denouncing all slaveholders as sinners unfit for church-fellowship, he had a slaveholder in his own church, whom he knew to be one, with whom he was on terms of close personal friendship, and whose money he was willing to receive for his support, and to whom was given a certificate of dismission as a member in good and regular standing. If Dr. Cheever denies the truth of this statement, we will give him the authority on which it is made."

We have only to add, in conclusion, that had the facts embodied in the foregoing paragraphs come to us through a private channel, we should have considered it due to Dr. Cheever to write to him before publishing them; but as they form the subject of articles in the newspapers, and are public property, we have only followed the clear course of duty in republishing them.

OUR COTTON SUPPLY.

It is easy to perceive that public attention is on the eve of being very forcibly directed to the question of our "Cotton Supply;" in other words, to a consideration of the means which can be adopted to obtain an increased importation of the raw staple, from other than American sources. Already, in the House of Lords—as a reference to our Parliamentary record will show—the venerable Lord Brougham has opened a discussion on the subject, which is only the forerunner of yet more important conversations upon the same theme. The meeting at Willis' Rooms—held on the 9th of last month, and presided over by the Bishop of London—is another sign of the interest which is being taken in the same question, though in this instance, the movement has assumed a different form, being disguised in the garb of the Church of England Missionary. The institution of the *Cotton Supply Association* at Manchester, and the publication of the *Cotton Supply Reporter*, are other indications equally encouraging; the more so, in the latter case, because Manchester speaks with the voice of our entire manufacturing districts, and when she speaks, it is a proof she is in earnest. Mr. Thomas Clegg's interesting and highly successful experiment on the West Coast, comes with its results to stimulate those who are arousing themselves to undertake the great work that is to be done, and although Government—we regret to add—has, as yet, done next to nothing, the little encouragement it has given to promote legitimate trade on the African coast, has been fruitful of results, and we may hope that that torpid body will yet—under a proper course of stimulants—be induced to deal with the question as one of national importance. Nor must we leave out of view the movement set on foot by the coloured people of the Northern States of the American Confederation—

avowedly for the purpose of striking an effective blow at Slavery in the South—in banding themselves into a Society for the Civilization and Evangelization of the country of their ancestors, one of their modes of operation being to develop its resources. Its pioneers are there already, and their movements give promise of success. There are projects afloat, too, for deriving supplies of cotton from India, and private enterprise is likewise busy, in endeavouring to reintroduce cotton-growing, upon an extensive scale in our West-India colonies. All these are encouraging signs of a growing consciousness, in the minds of various orders, that the time is at hand when this great question must receive a practical solution.

"What have we to do with American Slavery?" is a question too frequently put by people who are asked to promote its abolition. The answer is, that we are responsible as a nation for its continuance, as we are responsible for its growth to its actual proportions. We planted Slavery in America, and it has flourished under our protection, as never iniquity before flourished. We are the largest consumers of the raw staple, for the production of which the slaveholders breed slaves and sell them, and the slaveowner scourges them, often even unto death. All the hideous immorality of that abomination in the midst of a Christian land, we are responsible for, as the largest purchasers of that particular product which keeps our mills in activity, which enriches our manufacturers, which is building up a new aristocracy, and which reckons for quite one half of our exports. The fact is not to be denied: is not to be blinked. What have we to do with American slavery indeed!

Under a consciousness of this weight of iniquity upon us, as a nation, with what consistency can we revile the American slaveholder, whose cotton clothes us, or the Cuban slaveowner, whose sugar we consume? They justly cast back our reproaches into our teeth and charge us with hypocrisy. What says the *Times* on this question, commenting upon the motion of Lord Brougham, on the 30th January last?

"The importation of cotton into this country has, since the import duty was abolished, increased sixteen-fold. Having been 63,000,000 lb., it is now 1,000,000,000 lb. This is one of those giant facts which stand head and shoulders higher than the crowd—so high and so broad that we can neither overlook it nor affect not to see it. It proves the existence of a thousand smaller facts that must stand under its shadow. It tells of sixteen times as many mills, sixteen times as many English families living by working those mills, sixteen times as much profit derived from sixteen times as much capital engaged in this manufacture. It carries after it sequences of increased quantity of freights and insurances,

and necessities for sixteen times the amount of customers to consume, to our profit, the immense amount of produce we are turning out. There are not many such facts as these arising in the quiet routine of industrial history. It is so large and so steady that we can steer our national policy by it; it is so important to us that we should be reduced to embarrassment if it were suddenly to disappear. It teaches us to persevere in a policy which has produced so wonderful a result; its beneficent operation makes it essential to us to deal carefully with it now we have got it."

The *Times* does not see a remedy for the state of things which has arisen under the wonderful spring of our native industry, and which aims at clothing the thousand millions of mankind upon the globe with the Manchester fabrics. It foresees an augmentation of the demand, and advises a continuance of our industrial policy. So say we; but we say at the same time, and not as the *Times* says, that it is the duty of Government to interpose its influence in furtherance of enterprises which have for their ultimate object, the rendering us independent of America and of her slaveholders for our supplies of cotton. In what manner it can do so will furnish the subject of a future article.

THE REV. JOHN WADDINGTON AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

WHEN American ministers, such as the Rev. Dr. Pomroy for instance, visit this country, it is admitted that unless their testimony against Slavery at home has been outspoken and consistent, to receive and encourage them, and to promote their appearance at the anniversaries of our religious Societies, is a grave error, and seriously compromises the progress of anti-slavery sentiment among the various religious denominations in the United States. When an English minister visits America, we naturally expect that as he is outspoken at home, on the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, he will not belie his sentiments in the country in which he is a sojourner, but will, in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances, when the opportunity presents, raise his voice against the abomination which is gangrening society. The duty of bearing this testimony is absolute, but if a greater necessity for being plain exists at one time more than at another, it is when the English minister is seated by the side of those, who, professing to teach the Gospel, do nevertheless connive at the perpetuation of slaveholding, by maintaining silence upon the subject, or by defending it, or by perverting the discussion of points of discipline which turn upon its condemnation.

The Rev. Mr. Waddington, well known in this country as an earnest and eloquent

preacher, has recently returned from America. He took part, during his stay there, in some of the public proceedings of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, and does not appear to have realised the expectations which his acknowledged sentiments with regard to Slavery had raised. Some remarks of his, which were reproduced in the *New York Observer* and other papers, even exhibited a leaning towards the pro-slavery policy of the Board, and were commented upon by Mr. J. Horner, of Wakefield, and by the Honorary Secretary of a new organization, called the *London Emancipation Committee*. The Rev. Mr. Waddington denied, in the columns of the *Morning Star*, the allegations made against him; but it would appear, from a letter in the *Morning Star* of the 26th Dec., written by C. W. Whipple, of Boston, that Mr. Waddington did not speak out so plainly as he asserts. The charge of even indirect complicity with Slavery is a very serious one, and that it attaches to the *American Board*, to which Mr. Waddington gave his support, no one can call in question who is acquainted with its history. As a matter of news, we lay Mr. Whipple's letter before our readers.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "STAR."

"SIR,—In your papers of Nov. 17 and 18, I find two letters—one from Mr. Horner, of Wakefield, affirming, the other from the Rev John Waddington, of London, denying, a complicity of the gentleman last named with Slavery, in his recent visit to this country. I write to place, in as brief compass as possible, a few facts in contrast with Mr. Waddington's statements.

"1. He says—'To all parties and in all places in America I avowed my stong convictions on the sin of Slavery. Everywhere I gave expression to the sentiment which, as Englishmen, we hold in common, that man cannot hold property in man.'

"To this I reply:—Mr. Waddington did not utter either of these sentiments in the place where, of all places, it was most important that he should utter them, the platform of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, at their late annual meeting, in Philadelphia. The entire amount of his anti-slavery profession on that momentous occasion (when it was to be decided whether the Board would remonstrate against the impending legalization of the foreign slave-trade, and also whether it would begin to do the duty it had always avoided, of directing its missionaries not to receive slaveholders into their churches) was comprised in the declaration that he was a friend of the slave, a declaration which Dr. Southside Adams, or Dr. Blagden, or any slaveholding clergyman in the South, would make with equal promptitude, but with which the practical bearing of his speech was pointedly in contrast, unless he thinks it is better for the slave to remain a slave!

"2. Mr. Waddington says:—'At Philadelphia I took no part in the discussion.'

"In reply, he did take part in it, sufficiently to oppose the resolution offered, immediately before his speech, by the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, requesting the Board to act so as to deserve the contributions of Christian abolitionists. He then recommended the avoidance of 'any side issues to distract or disturb,' and added, 'In the Mission Societies our only feelings in favour of abolitionism should be feelings in favour of abolishing the kingdom of Satan, and establishing that of the Saviour.' These are his very words, quoted from a report in the *New York Observer*. But to show you the scope, and bearing, and spirit of his whole speech, delivered at a time when these fearfully solemn questions were pending, I send you the whole of a brief abstract of it, made by the special reporter of the *Congregationalist*, for that paper, Oct. 14. I have italicised the passages which confirm my representation:—

"The Rev. John Waddington, of London, at the suggestion of Dr. Anderson, took the platform, and made a brief, humorous, and well received address. He referred to Dr. Pomroy's late visit to England, and remarked that the majestic style of his appearance well represented the Board. It was the custom in England, he said, for each man to double his contributions in time of jubilee, and if the custom were followed here, the debt of 12,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* (for he had to divide every thing here by five) might easily be lifted off. In allusion to Mr. Cheever's reference to Slavery, he hoped that this great marshalled host was *not to be divided on this question*, but rather would *go on with its noble work*. In concluding, he looked complacently down upon the row of reporters in front of him, and said he hoped 'these poor men hadn't put all this down,'—an allusion that fairly brought the house down with laughter, which circumstance none but a verbatim report could make the reader fully appreciate.'

"3. Mr. Waddington proceeds to say:—'The American Board of Missions, at this meeting in Philadelphia, relinquished their mission amongst the Cherokees because of the connection of some of their churches with Slavery.'

"To this I reply:—1. The Board has not relinquished its mission among the Cherokees; as may be seen in any account of the proceedings at the annual meeting, and also in the Annual Report of the Board (just issued) for 1859. The portion of the report devoted to that mission (one item of which is 'future plans') occupies pp. 146 to 149. This mission, however, is fully as pro-slavery in its ministry, its character, and its action, as the Choctaw Mission, which has been discontinued. Its church members are still allowed by the Board to hold, buy, and sell slaves, without impeachment of their Christian (!) character.

"The relinquishment of the Choctaw Mission by the board was not 'because of the connection of some of their churches with Slavery.' They do not allege any such reason. If they did, they would doubly stultify themselves, because they have never enjoined a keeping of the churches clear from slaveholders upon the mis-

sionaries of either mission, and because they retain, without complaint or censure, the equally guilty Cherokee Mission. Here is what they do allege, from the official letter of the Board, dated 'Missionary House, Boston, July 27, 1859,' addressed 'To the Choctaw Mission,' and signed, 'In behalf of the Prudential Committee, S. B. Treat, Secretary of the A.B.C.F.M.' After (what purports to be) a sketch of the correspondence between the Board and the Choctaw Mission, this letter says (Ann. Report for 1859, p. 145):—

"'A wide-spread dissatisfaction has arisen among the churches, which, as the case now stands, is almost certain to increase. Aside from the injury that will accrue to the spiritual interests of our constituency from a prolonged agitation, the income of the Board must inevitably suffer. . . . On the other hand, continued discussion can hardly fail, as it seems to the Committee, to embarrass your labours.

"'It is the recorded judgment of the Board that it should be relieved, as early as possible, from the difficulties which have grown out of its operations in the Indian territory. In this opinion, for the reasons already set forth, the Committee are obliged to concur.

"'It only remains that I apprise you of the formal action of the Committee, on the 26th of July, which is as follows:—Resolved, 1. That in view of the embarrassments connected with the missionary work among the Choctaws, which affect injuriously, as well the labours of the brethren in that field, as the relations sustained by the Board to its friends and patrons, it is incumbent on the Prudential Committee to discontinue the Choctaw Mission; and the same is hereby discontinued.'

"The 'difficulties,' the 'embarrassments' here alluded to are plainly not the existence of Slavery in the mission churches (a fact which has existed ever since the churches were founded, which the Board never prohibited, but which they might have stopped any year had they chosen), but the complaints that arose therefrom against the missionaries and the Board. It was 'agitation,' not Slavery, that they dreaded.

"I regret to find that Mr. Waddington allows himself to make statements so absolutely false and deceptive as those which I have quoted. I had hoped that deceit on this subject was confined to American clergymen. It is certain that Mr. Waddington has rendered himself acceptable to many pro-slavery men in this country, and has received a large proportion of the contributions for his church from such men. To my mind, his time-serving character is made plain by the closing sentence of his letter. In it he declares himself—'as ever, a decided, uncompromising, earnest, but Christian abolitionist.' Why the antithesis? Why is the epithet Christian put in contrast with the epithets decided, uncompromising, and earnest? This is the 'mark of the beast,' just as we find it in the foreheads of Dr. Kirk and Dr. Baron Stow, of Boston. Mr. Garrison is a decided, uncompromising, earnest, and Christian abolitionist.

Respectfully, "CHARLES W. WHIPPLE.
"233, Shawmut Avenue, Boston,
Dec. 2, 1859."

DROWNING OF EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY COOLIES.

WE append the details of the dreadful loss of the clipper ship *Flora Temple*, Captain Johnson, master, from Macao for Havana, to which we alluded in our last Summary. It will be seen that the whole of the unhappy creatures on board, Coolie labourers, numbering 850 perished.

"The *Flora Temple* was a first-class ship, and having been chartered for the conveyance of Coolies, sailed from Macao on the morning of the 8th of last October. Her crew, including officers, were about fifty men, and four days after leaving port, they encountered a heavy gale of wind from the south-west, with a high sea. Sail was reduced, and although, on the morning of the 14th, the gale had abated, it continued south-west, and Captain Johnson declined making more sail, being apprehensive that a current might set the ship to the eastward, in the direction of reefs which were marked upon the chart. The sights obtained at noon were good, and the position of the ship appeared to be so far (thirty-six miles) to the westward of the most westerly reefs in the latitude in which they then were, that the captain, having directed a good look-out to be kept, apprehended no danger from standing on until 8 P.M., at which hour he had given instructions that the vessel should be put about. At 7.20 P.M. he came on deck from the tea table, and, in answer to inquiry, was informed by the officer of the watch that a good look-out had been kept from the topsail-yard. The officer was sent forward to see, however, and had barely reached the fore-castle, when the cry of 'Hard up' was heard from the look-out. The helm was immediately put hard up, and the spanker lowered, and no sooner was this done than 'Hard down' was heard from the officer, who by this time had come aft again to the gang-way. It was then discovered that the ship was within a short distance of the breakers, which could now be distinctly seen and heard, and which extended in a curved line from about four points on the starboard bow to about three points on the port bow. It seemed impossible a long ship like the *Flora Temple* could escape them, and although the yards were braced round, and the ship hove aback, she struck, first slightly, and then very soon afterwards several times with a tremendous crash, the breakers running very high alongside. Pieces of her timber and planking floated up on her port-side, and after some more very heavy bumps she remained apparently immovable, with a heavy list to port, and the water rapidly increased till it reached between the decks, where the Coolies were. It was found impossible to extricate her.

"While this was going on (indeed, almost immediately after the ship struck), a fear that the Coolies would rise and murder all on board seemed to have possessed the minds of the crew, and to such a height did this rise, that the captain (having at the time, however, no intention of abandoning the ship) had the two quarter-boats lowered, and placed an officer and five men in each, with orders to remain close to the ship, so that refuge and assistance might be at hand. The crew ap-

peared to have been thoroughly unmanned: their only anxiety was to get out of the ship; and but for the captain and his brother, and a few others on board, the boats would have left the ship absolutely unprovided with the necessaries of life.

"These boats were lowered at 10 o'clock. At 12 o'clock the other boats were got out, and there remained the long-boat, which the panic-stricken men had declared it was impossible to get out. Only fifteen of the crew remained on board, and the labour and difficulty in getting the boat out was immense. At length it was got over the side at 4 A.M., and with its crew passed safely through the breakers. Before leaving the ship the lead was hove: four fathoms was got under the bows and stern, and three fathoms amidships. Immediately through the breakers there was no bottom at fourteen fathoms.

"At break of day the ship appeared to be almost without motion. Her masts were standing, she had a strong list to port, her back was broken, and the sea making a clear breach over her starboard quarter. The Coolies, who had remained below all night, were now up and clustered on the upper decks. The captain, after passing round the northern extremity of the line of breakers, joined the starboard quarter-boat, which had the smaller boats in company, the port quarter-boat, with the second mate in charge, having deserted during the night, alarmed, probably, at the guns which were fired from the ship, and which to them seemed to denote the dreaded outbreak of the Coolies. The crews of the dingies were then transferred to the long-boat and quarter-boat, and at 9 A.M. sail was made to the westward. The wind then rose to a severe gale from W.S.W. with a tremendous sea and heavy rain, and the boats parted company. From Saturday, the 15th, till the following Friday, the gale continued without abatement, and serious apprehension was felt for the safety of the starboard quarter-boat, which contained Mr. Marshall, the mate, nine men, and two boys, and the port quarter-boat, which had in her the second mate, Mr. Walton, and five men. The long-boat contained thirty-one, including Captain Johnson, his brother, and Mr. A. P. Childs, the surgeon. Throughout the seven days while the gale lasted, this boat was hove to under a close-reefed mainsail, with a bucket veered out to twenty fathoms. Most of them had saved nothing but what they stood in. The boat was an open one, and they were drenched with the seas that broke over them, and with the rain which fell night and day. They were covered with salt-water boils, and suffered much pain. A biscuit and half a pint of water a day was all they dared to venture on, and sleep was almost impossible. On the Saturday the wind and sea abated. Fortunately the captain had saved his sextant and a chart, and as they found the boat drifted by the gale as far as 13 degrees N., it was determined to make for Tournon, the French settlement in Cochin China. On the Wednesday, twelve days after leaving the wreck, land was made to the south of Tournon. The boat was made fast to a fishing stake all night, on account of the strong current which had swept her to the south the day before, and on the following evening they came in sight of the French squadron. Finding it impossible

to weather the Cape that night, they put into a small fishing harbour, where they were most hospitably treated, and on the next evening, the 28th, they reached Tournon. They were received on board His Imperial Majesty's steamer *Gironde*, and Captain Johnson at once put himself in communication with the French Admiral, M. Page, and begged him to send in search of the missing boats, as well as to rescue the Coolies. With the greatest readiness the request was complied with, and the *Gironde* was despatched to the scene of the disaster, Captain Johnson, his brother, and Mr. Childs, the surgeon, accompanying her. They came in sight of the reef on the afternoon of the 2nd of November. The sea still rolled and broke as before; but no remnant could be seen of the ship, till, on proceeding closer in a boat, her port side from the main chain forward could be observed floating. Of the 850 Coolies no traces remained. Close to the reef, within a short distance of the wreck on the S. E. side, the boat sundred, and found no bottom at twenty-seven fathoms, and within a mile to north-west there was no bottom at seventy fathoms. The breakers extended about half a mile in a curved line. They were very narrow, not over 150 yards in width. The position, according to the calculation on board on the *Gironde*, was 10.19 N., 113.13 E., while Captain Johnson made it 10.6 N., and 113.20 E. Nothing remained to be done. The unhappy Coolies had doubtless perished, and the *Gironde* at once shaped a course for Manilla, where she arrived on the evening of the 8th of November.

"It is stated that it was impossible to make any attempt to save the Coolies. Captain Johnson and his brother are very humane and courageous men, but the crew were so terrified, that it was almost by exertions beyond belief on the part of the captain, his brother, and a few others, that the safety of the crew even was secured. It appears, however, that they had some reason for distrusting the Coolies at this crisis. On the Monday after they left Macao, all seemed comfortable and cheerful; their food was plentiful and good, and their state was well cared for, the necessary order and discipline among them being enforced by their own head-men exclusively. An outbreak was the last thing anticipated. On the Tuesday morning, at 7 o'clock, however, three days after leaving Macao, the watch on deck being scattered about the ship, and the guard at the port gate of the barricade which was erected between the Coolies and crew (who slept aft), being away from his post, the Coolies, who had collected on deck in large numbers, suddenly fell upon the guard at the starboard gate, struck him on the head with an iron belaying-pin as he was stooping down, drew out his sword, and having cut him frightfully, afterwards, with cruel ferocity, despatched him with a hatchet. They then made a rush through the barricade towards the cabin. While this was going on aft, others of the Coolies were calling 'Fire, fire,' to induce the watch, who were in the fore-part of the ship, to go down below. Fortunately the captain had come on the poop just in time to see the rush aft. He ran to his cabin, seized his revolver, and called the surgeon up. The captain's brother armed himself also, and half a dozen shots put them to the rout—not

before one of the crew was hacked to pieces and killed, and others wounded.

"The Coolies were armed with the cook's axes, the chain-hooks, iron belaying-pins, handspikes, and every weapon they could lay their hands upon, and but for the sudden panic which the unexpected shots from the revolvers produced, it was impossible to say what would have saved the crew. On inquiry, it turned out that a deep-laid scheme had been planned for killing them all and taking possession of the ship, and it was this design, and the crew being constantly on the guard, that produced such apprehension and terror among them when the ship struck.

"It is reported that the boats were no more than sufficient to save the crew, forty-nine in number. The ship was 300 miles from land, and it is stated that it was impossible to raft 850 men so great a distance, much less feed them, even had the crew been justified or encouraged in trusting their lives to the Coolies' forbearance. It was felt that the only chance of saving even one of the unfortunate Coolies was their falling in with a ship which perhaps might be induced to go to their assistance. Although the long-boat crossed the most frequented part of the China Sea, not a sail of any kind was seen. It is thought that in all probability the ship went to pieces on the night of Saturday, when the gale commenced."

AN APPEAL TO THE COLOURED RACE FROM HAYTI.

WE have been requested to publish the following admirable appeal which the Haytian Government has addressed to the coloured race generally, but more especially to those free negroes in America, who are suffering from a system of cruel proscription, and, in some of the States, are even threatened with re-enslavement:—

APPEAL TO EMIGRATION.

"Men of our race, dispersed throughout the United States! your lot, your social position, far from improving, is daily becoming worse. The chains of those who are in Slavery are more closely riveted; a prejudice, more implacable perhaps than servitude, pursues and presses down those who are free. Every thing is denied to us in that land whose freedom is so vaunted. A new Slavery has been invented for freed men, who believed they had no longer masters, and that is the humiliating patronage which blights your hearts. Philanthropy, in spite of its noble efforts, seems more powerless than ever to give success to your cause. Contempt and hatred do but increase against you, and the people of the United States are determined to eject you from their birthplace. So be it! Come to us! The gates of Hayti are open widely for you. By a happy coincidence, which Providence seems to have brought about in your behalf, Hayti has risen again from a long state of prostration in which a tyrannical Government had held it. Freedom is

restored in it. Come and join us; come and bring us an increase of strength, of light, and of industry; come and work out with us the prosperity of our common country. We shall come thus to the aid of the friends of mankind who are making such generous efforts to loosen the bonds of those of our race who are in Slavery. Our institutions are truly liberal. Our Government is just and moderate. Our soil is new and rich: we have good lands in plenty, and nearly all uncultivated, which only require intelligent cultivators to turn them to good account. Every thing assures you of a happy future in that country. For those among you who possess capital it will be easy to find forthwith a proper investment. The country offers them ready resources. They can reckon on the solicitude of the Government, and on its special protection. Society, in our land, is ready to adopt them, and prepares for them a fraternal reception. They will enjoy all the consideration they deserve; they will occupy the rank to which their worth and respectability give them a claim; every thing, in a word, that a blind and barbarous prejudice refuses them in the countries which have so wronged our race.

"Emigrants in a state of need will have a right to all that their situation requires. Government will provide for their first wants, and will take proper measures to secure them a peaceful and an honourable refuge, as well as the means of finding work.

"It is quite natural that you should ask, before coming to a country unknown to you, what are the means offered to you either to provide for first wants, or for a final settlement. This consideration has been seriously entertained by the head of our Republic and his Government; and it has led to the adoption of the following decisions:

"A grant out of the public treasury shall be made to those who have not the means to pay for their passage.

"Agents, whom I am about to appoint in the United States, will have the care of making in this matter the necessary arrangements.

"On arriving here the emigrants will find free lodgings, where food will be provided for them for the first few days. Government has already taken steps to procure to every new comer a sufficiently remunerative occupation, either on private estates, or on the lands belonging to the State.

"Every individual descended from the African race can, immediately on his arrival, make a declaration of his intention to become naturalized, and, after a year's residence, he becomes a citizen of Hayti, enjoying all civil and political rights.

"Emigrants are exempted from military service, but their children will be required, at the proper age, to fulfil that service in accordance with the laws of the country; that is to say, for

a limited time, and by the designation of the ballot.

"This exemption does not extend, in their case, to the law of the national guard, to which every citizen is bound to belong. They will also be able to practise their religion with all freedom.

"I have spoken so far only to the members of the African race, who, brought up in the United States, are, more than anywhere else, under the tyranny of the ignoble prejudice against their colour. But our sympathy is equally extended to all those of our common race, who, throughout the whole world, are exposed to the same sufferings.

"Let them come to us! The heart of a country is ready to receive them. I repeat it again, they may acquire, either from public property or from private estates, fertile lands, on which, by assiduous labour, they will find the happiness which, in their present position, they never can hope for.

"The man whom God had designated to raise up again the dignity of our race is found at last. The time is come for the gathering of all the children of Hayti. Let them firmly believe that Hayti is the bulwark of their freedom.

"Given at the office of the State for the Home Department, at Port-au-Prince, August the 22d, 1859, in the 56th year of Independence.

F. E. DUBOIS,

Secretary of State for Justice and Public Worship, and (*ad interim*) for the Department of the Interior and Agriculture.

The issuing of this powerful and touching appeal, suggests to our mind, the application by our own colonies, of the lesson it teaches. Instead of expending vast sums to import hordes of pagans, who do not settle in the country, why should not the Colonial Governments hold out inducements of a similar kind, to the descendants of the African race everywhere, to make our West-India colonies their home? At any rate, the experiment might be tried, and who knows but that in a comparatively brief space of time, a constant stream of free emigration would not set in from one colony to the other, especially from Canada and the United States. The subject is so important a one, that we shall discuss it more at length on a future occasion. Meanwhile, we would beg the editors of anti-slavery newspapers in the United States, and those of our West-India colonies, to re-publish the Hytian appeal.

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE Quarterly Meeting of the *Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* was recently held: sixty ladies were present, and also two gentlemen. The business on the books being

disposed of, a document was read from the *London Anti-Slavery Society*, setting forth reasons against Coolie immigration, founded on evidence taken from the Parliamentary papers, and from the testimony of Emigration Commissioners. It is cause of much satisfaction that the Duke of Newcastle has recognised both the justice and expediency of insisting on the planters paying the entire cost of the Coolie importation. The Governors of Demerara and Trinidad, in carrying into effect this just provision, have encountered serious hostility. In the latter Colony, that portion of the Executive Council representing the planting interest, have resigned their seats in displeasure. On the other hand, the Creole population of this colony have celebrated the disallowance of the Island Act by public rejoicings.

A communication from the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Society* next claimed the attention of the Meeting. It appears that an appeal has been made to the Wesleyan Conference in this country, from a section of the *Methodist Episcopal Church* (North) of America, who are anxious that the practice of slaveholding should come under the discipline of the church, and are desirous that their English brethren should send addresses on the subject of Slavery to the Conference to be held in Buffalo, in May next. It is computed that 15,000 members in this communion hold about 100,000 of their fellow-creatures in bondage, and this forms a strong ground for action, without any other motive. It is not sufficiently known in this country, that very nearly all the religious denominations in America are in the practice of holding slaves, and that the great Religious Societies are so committed to the system, that the *Bible Society* has declined more than one offer of grants of Bibles for the slaves.

Mr. Teall, from Lucea, resident in Jamaica, for sixteen years, gave an address at the close of the Meeting. He touched upon the following subjects: Habits of negro character; liberality in the cause of Missions; interest in Africa; difficulties in the way of their progress; opposition to improvements in the management of estates; the cry for more labour like an *ignis fatuus*, for while it proceeds from all planters in the aggregate, when appealed to individually, each, in his own case, disavows the need; this opinion, confirmed by a memorial having been generally signed in the parish of Westmoreland, to the effect that Coolies were not required in that district. There were many interesting narrations which time did not allow of being presented to the Meeting.

MR. A. TROLLOPE ON THE WEST INDIES.

MR. A. TROLLOPE is the son of a celebrated mother, whose contributions to English literature were numerous, varied, and highly entertaining: many of them were edifying. Mr. Trollope paid a flying visit to the West, in the early part of 1859, and, on his return, presented the public with a narrative of his wanderings, under the title of "*The West Indies and the Spanish Main*," which was published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall. The book is pleasantly written, as regards style, but is sadly deficient in those elements which impart value to a traveller's observations, namely, truth, and freedom from a tendency to caricature. The writer was entertained with boundless hospitality by the "ruined proprietor," and seems to have written his work under the inspiration of his hosts' good cheer and high favour, for a more thorough West-Indian planter's book has not, for many a day, seen the light. As it has gained favour with a certain section of the public, we consider it right to allow our friends, who may not have had the narrative, to judge of its character by a few extracts, and we will take the liberty of transferring to our columns an admirable criticism upon Mr. Trollope's production, from the *Morning Star*, with a prefatory admission that the strictures of the writer have our hearty concurrence. A previous but more general notice of the book had appeared in a previous Number of the same paper, hence the reference made by the literary editor.

THE NEGRO LABOUR-QUESTION.

"*The West Indies and the Spanish Main*. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. London: Chapman and Hall.

"In our general notice of this amusing work we stated that Mr. Trollope had given a most unfavourable account of the emancipated negroes of the West Indies, and that his views on this subject required a more particular examination than we were then able to give to them. We do not attach any special importance to Mr. Trollope's individual opinions, but taking the views which he has set forth as representing those of a party in this country, which is actively engaged in caricaturing the negro, and decrying the results of emancipation, a brief notice of them in these columns may not be undesirable. We cannot do better than commence by introducing to our readers

"MR. TROLLOPE'S OPINION OF THE WEST-INDIAN NEGRO.

"The West-Indian negro knows nothing of Africa, except that it is a term of reproach. If African emigrants are put to work on the same estate with him, he will not eat with them, or

drink with them, or walk with them. He will hardly work beside them, and regards himself as a creature immeasurably the superior of the new comer. But yet he has made no approach to the civilization of his white fellow-creature, whom he imitates as a monkey does a man. Physically he is capable of the hardest bodily work, and that, probably, with less bodily pain than men of any other race; but he is idle, unambitious as to worldly position, and content with little. Intellectually, he is apparently capable of but little sustained effort; but, singularly enough, here he is ambitious. He burns to be regarded as a scholar, puzzles himself with fine words, addicts himself to religion for the sake of appearances, and delights in aping the little graces of civilization. He despises himself thoroughly, and would probably be content to starve for a month if he could appear as a white man for a day; but yet he delights in signs of respect paid to him—black man as he is—and is always thinking of his own dignity. If you want to win his heart for an hour, call him a gentleman; but if you want to reduce him to a despairing obedience, tell him that he is a filthy nigger—assure him that his father and mother had tails like monkeys, and forbid him to think that he can have a soul like a white man. Among the West Indies, one may frequently see either course adopted towards them by their unreasoning ascendant masters. I do not think that education has as yet done much for the black man in the Western world. He can always observe, and often read; but he can seldom reason. I do not mean to say that he is absolutely without mental power, as a calf is. He does draw conclusions, but he carries them only a short way. I think that he seldom understands the purpose of industry, the object of truth, or the results of honesty. He is not always idle, perhaps not always false, certainly not always a thief; but his motives are the fear of immediate punishment, or hopes of immediate reward. He fears that and hopes that only. Certain virtues he copies, because they are the virtues of a white man. The white man is the god present to his eye, and he believes in him—believes in him with a qualified faith, and imitates him with a qualified constancy.

"This is a sample of what Mr. Trollope has to say respecting the West-Indian negro. That which follows is even more characteristic of his style, and strikingly illustrative of his fidelity to nature. Thus with 'sorrow' (profound, no doubt) he expresses his 'distrust' of the negro's religion, and states that, in his opinion, the very meaning of that commandment, which enjoins obedience to God and love to man, 'does not often reach the negro's mind.' They sing their Psalms, according to Mr. Trollope, pretty much as a parrot chatters his lesson; they repeat their prayers without any idea that they should therefore forgive offences; they hear the commandments and delight in the responses, but they go home and practise adultery and calumny. And so, further on, in a passage which we cannot resist quoting, Mr. Trollope denies the negro the possession of almost every moral and social virtue:

CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO.

"In many respects the negro's phase of humanity differs much from that which is common to us, and which has been produced by our admixture of blood and our present extent of civilization. They are more passionate than white men, but rarely vindictive as we are. The smallest injury excites their eager wrath, but no injury produces sustained hatred. In the same way, they are seldom grateful, though often very thankful. They are covetous of notice as is a child or a dog; but they have little idea of earning continual respect. They best love him who is most unlike themselves, and they despise the coloured man who approaches them in breed. When they have once recognised a man as their master, they will be faithful to him; but the more they fear that master, the more they will respect him. They have no care for to-morrow, but they delight in being gaudy for to-day. Their crimes are those of momentary impulse, as are also their virtues. They fear death, but if they can lie in the sun without pain for the hour, they will hardly drag themselves to the hospital, though their disease be mortal. They love their offspring, but in their rage will ill-use them fearfully. They are proud of them when they are praised, but will sell their daughter's virtue for a dollar. They are greedy of food, but generally indifferent as to its quality. They rejoice in finery, and have in many cases begun to understand the benefit of comparative cleanliness; but they are rarely tidy. A little makes them happy, and nothing makes them permanently wretched. On the whole, they laugh and sing, and sleep through life; and if life were all, they would not have so bad a time of it. These, I think, are the qualities of the negro. Many of them are in their way good; but are they not such as we have seen in the lowest phases of life?"

"Such is the picture which Mr. Anthony Trollope presents of the West-Indian negro—such, by a logical consequence, the miserable failure of our emancipation policy, as he would have us believe; at least so far as the moral condition of the emancipated blacks is concerned. His sketch bears a remarkable resemblance to the discourses on the natural inferiority of the negro which slaveholding clergymen in the Southern States of America are in the habit of preaching, only it is, perhaps, a shade or two darker, as the clergymen in question delight to represent Slavery as a Missionary institution, designed by Providence to convert the African race to Christianity, while Mr. Trollope appears to deny to that race even the capacity to understand the first principles of religion; and unequivocally declares that their devotional exercises are a species of ignorant imposture, by which Exeter Hall may be deceived, but he, never. It will, perhaps, occur to some otherwise not unintelligent persons, that a far more intimate knowledge of the negro character than could possibly be derived by Mr. Trollope from his flying visit to the West Indies, was imperatively needed be-

fore an authoritative opinion, such as he has expressed, could, with any decency, be given, especially when that opinion consigns an entire race to infamy and degradation, and is completely opposed to the judgment of men who have lived long in the country, who have associated intimately with the negro population, who, in many cases, have been acquainted with them in both states—that of Slavery as well as that of Freedom—and whose intelligence and impartiality cannot be called in question. Such persons (and if it were necessary we could quote their evidence) declare that while there is, of course, much vice, misery, and ignorance to deplore among the negro population, as, indeed, there is among the people of all countries, there are at the same time great and visible evidences of progress to be seen. But confining ourselves at the present moment to the question of the religious condition of the black population, we are fairly enough entitled to require from Mr. Trollope some proof of the sweeping allegations which he has made. At present we have only his authority for their truth, and we know what limited opportunities of observation he enjoyed. Can it be that Mr. Trollope took for granted all the one-sided statements of the planters by whom he was entertained with such unbounded hospitality, and that he swallowed the thousand and one stories about negro barbarism, which it would suit the immigration schemes of some, and the pro-slavery prejudices of others, to invent? He does not say that he went among the blacks himself and founded his terrible condemnation of them upon personal observation and inquiry. If he had done so, his readers would have had simply to determine whether or no Mr. Anthony Trollope's judgment was likely to lead him to just and impartial conclusions; and from the tone of exaggeration with which he writes concerning trivial circumstances, and the disposition to caricature by which his work is strikingly distinguished, his readers might not unreasonably have declined to regard him as a safe judge. We contend that, with respect to the moral and religious condition of the emancipated blacks, the persons best qualified to express an authoritative opinion are those clergymen who live in their midst, and are in the habit of daily watching their conduct, but for whom Mr. Trollope does not seek to conceal his contempt. Their testimony is unanimously in favour of the intellectual and religious capacity of the blacks, and of their slow but steady growth in morality and education, as well as in material prosperity. That there is a vast amount of ignorance, sensuality, and vice, in all their diversified forms, yet to be overcome, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt; but to what Christian country are not these remarks equally applicable; and who would presume to judge of London by Rosemary-lane, or New York by the Seven Points?

“While Mr. Trollope lashes the negro with no sparing hand, he is careful to deal very tenderly with the planter, and hence we have no information from him as to the extent to which immorality and irreligion among the blacks are, or have been, encouraged by the planter's evil example, although we believe abundant evidence might be forthcoming on this point. Nor does Mr. Trollope give any information with regard to the deteriorating influence which the introduction of Coolies, Chinese, and Africans of the lowest class, with their revolting superstitions and demoralizing practices, must have exercised upon the native labouring population so recently emancipated from Slavery, and upon whom civilization has but begun to dawn. In truth, he has only given us the planter's side of the negro question, and so his testimony must be taken for what it is worth, which is very little indeed.

“All the planter's difficulties Mr. Trollope traces to one cause—the ineradicable laziness of the negro, and the consequent deficiency of labour. ‘In order that he may eat to-day, and be clothes to-morrow, he will work a little; as for any thing beyond that, he is content to lie in the sun.’ This is but a mild statement as compared with many which are contained in Mr. Trollope's book, and the object of which is, of course, to create the impression that the decay of the West Indies—especially of Jamaica—has been occasioned by the intolerable indolence of the blacks. Immigration is, of course, Mr. Trollope's one great remedy. It is that which has revived the drooping prosperity of British Guiana, and it only can afford to Jamaica any chance of resuscitation. But there are two sides to these questions also, and Mr. Trollope has again only favoured us with the planter's. He says nothing about the insufficient wages and irregular employment offered in Jamaica to the negro labourer. He says nothing about the hardships which the labourer often undergoes, owing to the unpunctual payment of his wages. He does not state, what he unquestionably should have made known, that thousands of the black population own small properties of their own, and that they could not have acquired even their humble cottage, their narrow strip of land, and their few cattle, without the exercise of honest industry. He does not say any thing about the disinclination of the planters to permit the negroes to own land upon their estates, or to rent it, except as tenants at will, whereby many of them are driven into remote districts, where their labour is of but little service to those who stand so much in need of it. He is silent respecting the absentee system, which exists, to a large extent, in Jamaica, and which must be as disastrous there as it has proved to be in Ireland. Not less grave are his omissions concerning the immigration system which he upholds, for upon the most vital objection to that system he says not a word. We refer to

the enforced payment by the labouring classes of a portion of the expenses of the system—a system, be it remembered, by which the planters alone are benefited, and the necessity for negro labour is intended to be set aside. These being some of the radical defects of Mr. Trollope's book, it may of course serve the purpose of being quoted by the planters and their friends, but it can possess no authority whatever in the estimation of an impartial and discriminating public."

Reviews.

Travels in Eastern Africa; with the Narrative of a Residence at Mozambique. By LYONS M'LEOD, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c., late H.B.M. Consul at Mozambique. London: Hurst and Blackett.

THIS is a remarkably interesting work, which appears at a moment when public attention is being powerfully directed to Africa, and to a consideration of the best means of promoting the development of its resources. In giving to the world the results of his experience and observation, Mr. M'Leod has rendered essential service to the cause of civilization and human progress, and it is very much to be deplored that his efforts in this direction have not been appreciated by the Government, under whose flag he served, and in whose service he and his wife suffered so much. Most of our readers are acquainted with the particulars of the *Charles-et-Georges* affair, which occupied the attention of Parliament early in the first session of 1859, and which in 1858 had already created so profound a sensation in this country. They may remember, that in consequence of the British Consul's determination to check the regular slave-trade at Mozambique, as well as that equally infamous trade in human beings, designated as the "French free-labour emigration scheme," his house was assailed by an infuriated mob, instigated by the Mozambique dealers in human beings, and himself and his wife stoned and otherwise maltreated. These sufferers were Mr. M'Leod and his amiable partner, who refused to abandon her husband when in danger, preferring, like a true, good, brave woman, to share his perils. The revelations made by Mr. M'Leod, of the extent to which the trade in slaves for the Cuban and French markets is prosecuted, are astounding; and it is well the anti-slavery public and the Government should learn how deeply the Government of Portugal is implicated in its continuance. Much sympathy was manifested for Portugal, when the *Charles-et-Georges* transaction was under discussion; but had the facts which Mr. M'Leod now publishes been in possession of the public—as they might have been if the Government had thought proper to communicate to the country, through Parliament, the information it possessed, and

which it had received from its Consul at Mozambique—the case of the Portuguese would have assumed a very different complexion. It is, indeed, evident from Mr. M'Leod's narrative, that the local authorities placed every impediment in the way of the capture of the *Charles-et-Georges*, and that the Governor at last acted solely in consequence of the vigorous course of the British Consul. It must be borne in mind that the one object the British Government had in view, in establishing a Consul at Mozambique was the suppression of the slave-trade from the East Coast of Africa. It was, therefore, clearly its first duty to see that he was properly supported, and its second, to act upon the information he sent home. Instead of this, we find him abandoned—at a most critical juncture—by the *Castor*, the British ship-of-war on the station at that time—and ultimately shelved by the Government for having done his duty. When such facts become known to foreign Governments, it cannot be matter of surprise that they sneer when the efforts of Great Britain to suppress slave-trading are adverted to. Mr. M'Leod shews clearly that it is in the power of the Portuguese Government to put an end to the traffic in negroes from the Mozambique coast, by the summary proceeding of banishing some half-dozen individuals whose connection with it is notorious. But he also points out that the Governor is in the hands of a local finance committee, who can stop the supplies at any time, and thus compel him to surrender at discretion. Moreover, these Governors are sent out upon salaries so small, that they cannot live upon their allowance, every commodity essential to comfort being exorbitantly dear. Hence the tacit understanding is, that they are to make money in any way that offers; and as tribute is paid at so many dollars a head, for every slave shipped either for Cuba or for the French colonies, it may easily be understood that the inducements for them to connive at the traffic are vastly superior to the simple satisfaction they might derive from the consciousness of discharging their duty, especially as it would involve starvation, and perhaps death from open violence or secret treachery. Thus, although the Governor, Colonel Almeida, who was sent out to supersede De Carvalho e Menezes, receives full credit at the hands of Mr. M'Leod for the sincerity of his desire to suppress the slave-trade, when he arrived at his post, Mr. M'Leod is not only not sanguine that the new Governor will continue the measures he then inaugurated, but distinctly avers that he must succumb to the influences which surround him. The disclosure is disappointing, and tends to cast doubt upon the efficacy of the *portarias* and decrees dated from Lisbon, declaring that the slave-trade and Slavery

are at an end "throughout the trans-marine possessions of Portugal." But Mr. M'Leod's volumes are not only deeply edifying, in that they afford the reader an opportunity of judging of the extent to which the slave-trade is carried on, from the East Coast, the manner in which it is fed by fresh victims from the interior, the mode of their shipment, and the devices to which the slavers resort to secure their cargoes—facts which contradict the satisfactory reports of the naval officers on the station to the effect that the slave-trade has ceased from these parts—but on account of the stores of information they contain, on the resources of Eastern Africa, and the best means of developing them. In this respect the appendix to the second volume is especially valuable, deriving additional importance from the fact of its having been made, by Mr. M'Leod, the subject of a despatch to the Foreign Office; although for any thing the public is the wiser for it, through that channel, it might as well have been consigned to that refuge for neglected and despised manuscripts, the waste-paper basket. His project for connecting the Eastern and Western hemispheres by means of electric cables from Natal to Aden, touching at Cape St. Mary, the southernmost point of Madagascar, the Mauritius, Seychelles, and Abed-el-Kuri, and for establishing a steam mail line from the Cape of Good Hope to Aden, touching at the chief ports along the coast, is a sufficient proof of his far-sightedness, and of the eminently practical turn of his mind. Its importance can scarcely be over-rated, when it is borne in mind, that throwing open to the world the commerce of the localities proposed to be thus connected, is fully admitted to be the most effectual mode of suppressing the slave-trade. Yet Government has done nothing. We shall recur to Mr. M'Leod's edifying volumes, on a future occasion, and submit a few extracts to our readers. Meanwhile we can bear testimony to their thorough excellence, and we venture to add, that those portions of them which exhibit the sufferings, and patience, and courageous devotedness of Mrs. M'Leod, under circumstances most trying and awful, will not be read with the least share of interest.

Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies, by C. BUXTON, Esq., M.A., M.P.
London: Green, Longman, and Roberts: 1860.

MR. BUXTON renders an essential service to the cause of negro emancipation, by publishing this small book. It is the re-issue, in a separate form, of the paper which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1859,

and which has been so generally admired in this country, and so vilely abused in the West Indies. With one omission, it is a most masterly review of the results of West-India emancipation, and shews clearly, from Parliamentary evidence chiefly, the true causes of the "ruin" which has befallen many of the former proprietors' estates, especially in Jamaica. The omission we refer to is of all reference to immigration. But as this was intentional on the part of the author, we abstain from comment upon it, further than to observe that it is to be regretted he had not, at the time he wrote this valuable paper, the documentary evidence at command to enable him to expose the evils of the present system of importing foreign labour into our sugar colonies, and to lend his powerful pen to a correction of them.

The British West Indies and African Immigration, by A. WHITEMAN. London: Richardson Brothers.

THIS is a plan for immigration from Africa, penned in furtherance of the views of the West-India proprietary. It is issued in pamphlet form, and reiterates the old complaints of the want of labour, while ignoring wholly the real causes which in some colonies have operated to the partial prejudice of the labour-market. It is one of the most disingenuous publications of its class that we have seen, for while professing to quote from Parliamentary documents, the compiler so garbles the passages he selects, that only those persons who have access to the originals are in a position to determine the degree of credence that is to be given to them in their new relation to the subject treated of. In this respect the pamphlet is most mischievous. In others it is beneath criticism.

Advertisements.

Just published, by the
EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,
SYMPATHY WITH JOHN BROWN
OF HARPER'S FERRY.
Interesting Correspondence between Mrs. MASON of Virginia, and Mrs. LYDIA MARI CHILD.

Price 4s. 6d. per 100.

Just Published,
FURTHER TESTIMONIES IN FAVOUR
OF FREEDOM:

A Supplement to "A Cloud of Witnesses
against Slavery."

By WILSON ARMISTEAD.

200 pages, price 1s. 6d.

London: TWEEDIE; BENNETT.